/19 cont./

854 house, the training and care of the children is simplified by the
596 joint support and action of the two sisters, who do not object to giving each other mutual aid in sharing domestic duties and the care of the children during the absence of one of the sisters, so that the children are well cared for and trained as if they were members of one family. In the case of daughters who live together with their respective children in their mother's house, the unity among them is almost equal to the case just described. Thus the absence of the mother is willingly filled in by the desire of the others to assist her and temporarily fill her place. It may also be the common mother /of the daughters/ -- the grandmother /of the children/ -- who replaces all the daughters, or a maternal aunt, or even the grandmother -- great-grandmother of the children -- if she is still of an age to do so, a female cousin, etc. In these cases the mother's influence is amplified with that of her maternal relatives who care for the children by trying to adhere to the general norm of conduct and the particular ways that each mother uses.

854 Another influence that is being felt and can be perceived
591 more clearly at the present time with the problem of crossbreeding and of Catholic marriage is the /20/ acknowledged participation of the paternal relatives in the training. We know that Guajiro marriage is usually matrilocal, but it can happen that later on it may change into a patrilocal one, the children then coming under the influence of the paternal relatives who also assist the mother. In these two cases there seems to be a sort of transfer of the feeling of kinship, and although the maternal may be more powerful in certain aspects, the paternal by fact acquires prerogatives which it wields actively: The new generation comes under the influence of both branches, which co-operate in their rearing and training.

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854 The mother shows every affection for her small child, above all while it is being breast fed, but later the demonstrations of

/103 cont./

583 567 Returning to the women slaves, we would say lastly that the owner may give a woman slave to one of his other slaves for a wife or sell her to another owner to be the wife of one of his slaves. If the owner buys a woman slave to provide a wife for one of his male slaves, the children of the union belong to him, and he also collects the marriage payment for the first daughter of this couple to marry, in order to be repaid the amount he paid for her mother. (Aspects of descent will be treated fully in the chapter, Slavery and Bond Service).

591 Marriage residence. Guajiro law covering land gives the Indian ample scope to fix his residence once he has married, for apart from the fact that primarily the new family cell may establish its home in the maternal house of either the wife or the husband, it also offers the following possibilities: a) on the wife's side, on the land of the wives of any of her brothers, since the payment made by the family for each of them included the right to establish homes, to open cleared land, and to pasture livestock, a right which also holds good on the clan lands of the wives of maternal uncles; b) on the husband's side, on the lands of his father and that of the wives of his brothers and maternal uncles, for the same reasons as stated above.

But Guajiro custom generally inclines toward establishing a dwelling beside that of the wife's mother, so that one can say /104/ of marriage that it is matrilocal. The newly married couple live for a time in the same house with the wife's maternal relatives, but when their family increases and they begin to acquire a certain financial independence, they build a house near that of her mother.

Presumably the marriage payment contributes to the marital residence of the couple, since, as we have seen, this requires the girl's consanguineous kin to supply room and board to the husband.

After a more or less lengthy interval has been spent on the lands of the woman's clan, the family, now considerably increased and economically established through the efforts of the

/104 cont./

591 woman and the collaboration of the children, establishes a new home in the settlement of the husband's parents, where they remain until the home is broken up by the death of one of the couple. If it is the man who dies, the woman and the children go back again to the side of the maternal grandmother; if it is the woman, the man remains in his settlement, but the children return to the lands of the maternal clan, to which they belong according to the principle of uterine descent. The same thing happens if both parents die.

So much for the traditional Guajiro system. But in recent times, due to the influence of the mestizo and that of acculturation, the situation has changed. Among the mestizos it is very common for the man to take his wife to his parent's home so that his mother may show her and instruct her in domestic tasks. Presumably, this residence is also influenced by the marriage payment /or rather its lack/, since when the woman has not been acquired in accordance with Guajiro law, the support of the home falls entirely to the lot of the man. Then the help that he may receive will come exclusively from his parents, and this is exactly what determines the patrilocality in these cases.

After a time, if the economic situation of the husband is good, a dwelling is built next to that of his parents, the initiative and construction of this dwelling usually being the responsibility of the man's father. It is frequent, however, that due to particular circumstances of the family, their living all together is prolonged indefinitely.

595 591 This residence in both cases refers to marriage to the first wife, since the later wives go on living usually in their parents' homes. At most, in these cases of polygamy, various wives may live together in one house, particularly when they are sisters or get on well together. With the death of each one of the wives, the family begins to break up in the manner previously described.

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591 In the case of the marriage of a Guajiro woman with a civilizado, they may respect the matrilocal tradition or establish

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591 themselves in any place, in accordance with the husband's convenience, since in this case also, it is he who must take chage of the economic necessities of the home. Generally, the residence is established in an urban center.

593 Family intervention in marriage. In the first marriage of a Guajiro man, the family plays an outstanding role, not only in respect to the woman but also to the man. In connection with the latter, the sense of co-operation and mutual aid of the clan group makes itself felt. The man of marriageable age is already economically independent, but he needs the help of his kin. The marriage payment /or installment/ is high, and he cannot cover it with his personal contribution. The aid of his consanguineous relatives puts him in the position of being obligated to them. He must then do something similar when a relative is in a like situation, and much later he will repay those who aided him when he receives the marriage payment for his first daughter.

Another aspect /in which the family plays an outstanding role is/ that of inheritance. The economic contribution given by his kin leaves out his children and his wife, since they have already received their inheritance in the person of the uterine relatives with the purchase price.

The two families take an active part in the ceremonies of negotiating for and buying the wife (Cf. Purchase procedure in Chap. V), and in those connected with her being returned, when she was not found to be a virgin at marriage, in cases of adultery, desertion of her home, or neglect or death of the children. (Cf. Valuation of virginity, and the woman, Adultery, and Dissolution of marriage in Chap. V. Maternity, Chap. VI.)

It falls to the wife's consanguineous group, according to their status, to supply the husband with means of subsistence when she is incapable of doing it herself. The group complies with this function as an obligation derived from the marriage payment.

/163 cont./

592 836 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 582 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the [591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 611 602 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives, and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Uráriyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Woúriyú	partridge
Uyárayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nīshi pīichí – father of pīichí (nī – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pīichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pīichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pīrīkī), wild cat (músī), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hurótsī), brownish one (muráachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pīshií – your father; nīshí – his father; sīshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three aráur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

7:Bolinder T-8 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

for her as much as will enable him to repay the cattle the clan laid out for him when he married. The amounts obtained for younger daughters are also distributed among the family in a certain way. Payment of the bride-price confers a number of benefits. During the first year the newly married couple usually live as the guests of the bride's family. As has been said, the husband has the right to use the land owned by his wife's clan. The bride always brings a dowry in the form of ornaments and household utensils, often of cattle as well. The husband must look after the cattle, unless, as happens, the girl's family sends its own herdsman to see to them. The bride usually provides all the furnishings of the huts, as well as materials, hammocks and other textiles.

These advantages offset the bride-price to a quite considerable extent. The husband knows, too, that his wife's relations will keep an eye on her when he is away, for if she betrays him, he can return her to her family and require refund of the bride-price and payment of compensation. Thus the bride-price also acts as a guarantee against a grass widow kicking over the traces.

If the husband does not fulfil his duties, or if he treats his wife badly, her family can take her back without returning the bride-price. After that the man will naturally get no help from his clan, if he wishes to get himself another wife.

It is not always possible for the groom and his relations to pay all the bride-price immediately. In such cases it is possible to pay by instalments. The groom pays a large proportion of the price when the bride is handed over to him. If he is unable to pay the balance at the time fixed, he must give the girl back, losing what he has already paid. The girl is now less valuable in the marriage market, being second-hand, so to speak. The man is made to pay for the time he has had her and thereby makes up for the lower price she can command, if a new suitor turns up. According to this principle a seducer must pay compensation to the family of the girl he has seduced. It sometimes happens that a couple fall in love and the parents approve, but the young

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.